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276 All the Tanala employ tobacco in the form of snuff. To make this, a leaf is toasted over the fire until it begins to change color, then crushed to powder in a small mortar and mixed with a fixed proportion of sifted wood ashes. The ashes are prepared from several different plants and they, rather than the tobacco, seem to be considered the important ingredient. As a rule, each person makes his own snuff, mixing the ashes to suit his taste. It is made up a little at a time, as it is thought to lose flavor if kept. Snuff is carried in small boxes made from bamboo, horn, bone, or small gourds (Fig. 9, f, g, h, j, k, l). In taking it, a little is poured out on the palm and tossed into the open mouth with a quick movement. It is never snuffed.

It is doubtful whether the narcotic properties of hemp were known to the Tanala in pre-European times. A few of the younger men now smoke it in water pipes like those used for tobacco, but the practice is rare.

MANUFACTURES

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The work of the family is rather evenly divided between husband and wife. The man takes complete charge of the cattle, hunts, cuts and burns the jungle for the *tavy*, does most of the fishing and builds the house and keeps it in repair. He is not expected to do any of the house work, but will often relieve his wife by helping with the cooking and tending the baby. The woman tends the house and children, cooks, draws water and pounds rice, the last two being heavy tasks. Both sexes work in the *tavy*, but women do most of the cultivation in the small gardens and in the fields of wet rice.

All manufactures are rigidly assigned to one or the other sex. Men do all the work in metal, wood, bone, horn and hide. They also weave certain types of mats and baskets and make bark cloth. Women make the balance of the mats and baskets, do all weaving of cloth, and make the family garments and keep them in repair. The only exceptions to this rule are the *sarombavy* ("berdaches"), who adopt the women's industries as part of their role.

ARTISANS

[463] The only professional artisans are smiths and a very few stone-
326 cutters, who prepare the memorial stones. Smiths may be drawn
[428] from any gens and do not form a separate caste. The occupation tends to be hereditary, but anyone may enter it. There is no formal

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421 of the father. A clear distinction is maintained between the property
593 of husband and wife. A woman owns all the baskets, mats, etc., which she has made and everything which she has received through gift or inheritance. Similarly, the wife has no claim on anything belonging to the husband at the time of their marriage, or on anything which he may make or inherit later.

The economic independence of wives is well illustrated by the provisions which exist among the Menabe for the division of any increase in the family wealth after marriage. The rules vary slightly with the gens, but in general the wife is entitled to one half of the increase, other than inheritances. This becomes her absolute property and is retained even when she is divorced with cause. She can demand a division at any time and it is not uncommon for wives who do not get on well with their husbands to take their share of the profits as they come in and bank them with their own relatives. This holds for an only wife, or a first one. The rights of subsidiary wives are less clearly defined, but the husband is expected to make gifts to them from time to time. These become their absolute property. Among the Ikongo there is no such regular division of profits, but a husband is expected to make his wives frequent gifts. In both groups it is considered bad form for a husband to make gifts to his subsidiary wives without the first wife's permission.

428 Inheritance is fixed by law and it is impossible for a person to make a will. At the same time, a man or woman can give property away even when on the deathbed and the legal heirs have no redress. The only limitation is that land cannot be given outside the family. Old people frequently use this right as a threat to obtain obedience from their children and it is not uncommon for a man to give most of his estate to some favorite son or daughter before his death. As a rule, he will not do this until he thinks his end is imminent, for a gift once made cannot be recalled. In all matters pertaining to
[597] inheritance, individuals who have been adopted have the same rights as those born into a similar relationship.

It is universally prohibited for a husband to inherit from his wife or a parent from a child, but in other respects the rules of inheritance differ somewhat in the northern and southern divisions of the tribe.

Among the Ikongo a wife cannot inherit from her husband. Apparently this works little hardship except in the case of barren women. The wife usually has her own property and seems to possess an informal life interest in her children's share of the husband's estate.

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She continues living with them and is supported by them. Barren women return to their own families on the death of the husband. 428

The estate of a childless person is divided equally among the surviving brothers and sisters by the same mother. If none of these are living, it is divided among the brothers' children. The sisters' children, who will belong to other lineages, do not share in it. A woman's estate is divided equally among her children. A man's estate is divided into two or more equal shares, one for his children by each of his wives. Each share is then further subdivided according to the number of children.

Brothers and sisters inherit in equal portions except that daughters rarely receive land if there are any sons. This is designed to keep land in the lineage, for if inherited by a woman it would ultimately pass to her children and thus be lost. If a daughter has married within the village she is given the equivalent of her share of land in money or cattle. If she has married outside she forfeits her right to inherit land or its equivalent and usually receives less than her normal share of the other goods. 428 596

Among the Menabe, the estates of unmarried men and all other childless individuals are divided as among the Ikongo. An only wife, or the first wife in a polygamous household, has an absolute right to one-third of her husband's estate, exclusive of property which he may have inherited after the marriage. This holds even if she is barren. The largest share of the residual estate, usually amounting to about one-half, goes to the eldest son, who becomes head of the family group on his father's death (see The Lineage). The rest is divided equally among the other sons and daughters except that women who have married outside the village receive a smaller share. A woman's estate is divided equally among her children unless she is the mother of the family's eldest son. If so, he receives the greater part of her estate as well as his father's. 428

Secondary wives in polygamous households cannot inherit from the husband. He usually provides for them by gifts before his death. [595] Individual ownership of land is so recent in this group that there are, as yet, no fixed rules governing its inheritance. Most of it seems to be taken by the eldest son and it is rarely given to daughters.

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793 769 618 According to native belief each gens has arisen through the expansion of a single family (see Social Organization) which increased to a lineage, then to a village, and finally to a series of villages. At first the head of the family sacrificed to the ancestors, then, as the related group grew larger, the office became more formal and was vested in the head of the family which was in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, reckoning through eldest children. Finally through various causes such as settlement of part of the group at a distance, failure of the direct line, etc., the strict succession was broken down.

793 621 618 Among the Menabe at the present time every village of long standing has its priest. When a new village is founded, the priest of the parent village is expected to come to it on request and make sacrifices there. Finally, when the new village has existed for two or three generations and lost its feeling of unity with the old village, or when the priest becomes weary of making the necessary journeys, the head of the ranking family in the new village asks permission from the original priest to assume the priestly office. This then becomes hereditary in his family. There seems to be no formal investiture for a new priest, but the office cannot be assumed without the original priest's permission. In the Zafindriantrova gens the priest of the parent village is called the *Tena Pitankazomanga*, those of the offshoot villages simply *Pitankazomanga*. The *Tena Pitankazomanga* officiates at sacrifices in his own village and at those performed in behalf of the group of villages as a whole. The *Pitankazomanga* are considered his deputies and ask his permission when they are to perform the more important sacrifices. Most of the Menabe gentes seem to have a similar, but rather less formal organization. In general, the priest of the parent village has no real control over the priests of the younger villages and there is no central religious authority, even within the gens.

793 428 Although the priestly office remains in the family of the original priest of a village, the exact method of inheritance varies somewhat with the gens. Among the Zafindiamanana the priests are always men. The office passes, at the death of a priest, to his younger brother and thus through the whole line of brothers. At the death of the last it reverts to the eldest son of the original priest, his brothers' children being debarred even if their fathers have held the office. If the eldest child of the original priest is a girl, the office, after it has been held by her brothers in succession, reverts to her children.

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Menabe anyone may be adopted. The adopter calls the village together in the *kianza* or at his own house. He provides a liberal supply of rum and 1.20 to 5.00 francs in money. When all have assembled he fills a white drinking horn with rum and holds it in front of him while the head of the lineage announces: "Here is so-and-so, who is going to adopt so-and-so. He has brought the rum and the money." The rum is then passed around and the money divided among the whole village, the elders getting the largest share. The giving of the money is the real sign of adoption. After this ceremony the adopted child is in all ways the equal of a real one. 597

The Tanala Ikongo adopt only illegitimate children, their own or those of women they marry, and faithful slaves. In the case of an illegitimate child the man kills an ox, called the *tota-hitay*. The meat is divided into two equal parts, one for each of the families interested, and the adoption publicly announced. After this the child has all the rights of a legitimate one. Fathers often adopt their illegitimate children without marrying the mother. [848]

Slaves may be adopted as a reward for long and loving service. In this case two oxen are killed, one for the village and the other for persons living in other villages but sharing the same tomb. The slave receives freedom and full social rights, but is expected to remain with his adoptive parent. If he neglects his adoptive father the latter may reject and sell him. His price will be divided between the adoptive father and the *Fokonolona* ("village council").

DISOWNMENT

Disownment is extremely rare but is practiced by all the Tanala on occasion. It seems to be limited to adult sons and is considered a desperate measure. The Ikongo disown only for repeated incest or if a man has become a professional thief. Ingratitude or even violence to parents is not considered sufficient cause. The Menabe disown for the same reasons and for offenses against the parents as well. 428 681 593

The erring son is warned first by his parents, then by his father's parents and the elders of the gens and lastly by his mother's parents. The mother's parents are considered the last resort and their pleas are believed to be most effective. If he still fails to mend his ways, his father and mother assemble the village and announce: "So-and-so, our son, will not reform his ways although he has been counseled by his mother's parents. We disinherit him and he can go wherever he wants to." They then give rum and a sum of money to the village

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593 council. This is partly as payment for their service as legal witnesses
428 and partly, it seems, to recompense the village for the loss in its man
681 power. The occasion is a sad and solemn one and there is no feasting.

The man who has been disowned is driven out of the village and gens and is likely to be informally executed if he returns. He loses all rights to his parents' property and cannot be buried in the gens tomb. The punishment is considered more terrible than death, for his soul is forever excluded from the company of his ancestral spirits and cannot partake of the sacrifices. He becomes a starving vagabond in this world and the next.

PARENTAL AUTHORITY

593 Among the Tanala Ikongo authority over the children is vested in the mother. If the father has given the mother an ox, he is entitled to correct and discipline the children, otherwise not. If he tries to scold or strike a child, either for disobedience or some fault, the mother formally warns him to stop. If he persists and really strikes the child, the mother may divorce him, taking the children with her and giving them to her next husband. As far as I know, there is no other group in Madagascar which has such an arrangement. The neighboring tribes consider it barbarous. They say that it arises from the fact that, until quite recent times, the Ikongo men have made no marriage payment to their wives' families. Their marriages were, therefore, nothing more than concubinage and the children, being illegitimate, belonged to the mother. However, the Ikongo regarded such unions as quite regular and counted the children as legitimate. The maternal right persists even today, when a bride price is regularly paid, and I believe that it may be a relic of a former matriarchal system, hints of which appear in other parts of their social organization.

Among the Menabe parental authority is vested in the father, although the mother seems to be most active in directing and controlling the children while they are small. The authority of the father continues, in theory, throughout life, but in practice a man's control over his grown sons varies greatly. He often has little if they live outside the village. Cases in which parents have been left in want while their children living elsewhere are prosperous are not uncommon. In general, the more property a man has the more respect and affection his children show him.

858 Children must show respect to their parents and there are a num-
861 ber of taboos governing their conduct. After they become too large